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DAN SMOOT

BERLIN

On the occasion of President Nixon's visit to West Berlin, communist behavior once again gave us an irritating reminder of an unpleasant subject: the isolation of West Berlin deep inside communist-held territory. How did it happen?

In November, 1943, aboard the U.S.S. *Iowa*, enroute to Tehran for a meeting with Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had a conference with Harry Hopkins and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They discussed, among other things, the postwar division and occupation of Germany. President Roosevelt predicted that Germany would collapse suddenly and that "there would definitely be a race for Berlin" by the U.S., Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. The President said: "We may have to put the United States divisions into Berlin as soon as possible," because "the United States should have Berlin." Hopkins and Roosevelt's military advisers agreed unanimously.(1)

Some 17 months after this conference on the *Iowa*, the collapse of Germany came; and the "race for Berlin" became one of the strangest operations in military history.

In the closing days of World War II, the American Ninth Army was rolling toward Berlin, meeting little resistance. Some twenty or thirty miles east of Berlin, the German nation had concentrated its dying strength and was fighting savagely against the Russians.

Our Ninth Army could have been in Berlin within a few hours, probably without shedding another drop of blood; but General Eisenhower suddenly halted our Army. He kept it sitting idly outside Berlin for ten days while the Russians slugged their way in, killing, raping, ravaging. We gave the Russians control of the eastern portion of Berlin — and of *all* the territory surrounding the city.

After we pulled out of eastern Germany in 1945 to let the Soviets have unquestioned control of that area, the Soviets expelled nine million Germans from their homes. It was a time of horror, old men starving on the roads, young girls raped in broad daylight on the streets and in boxcars by gangs of Soviet

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soldiers.

All of this occurred because we refused to do what would have been easy for us to do — and what our top leaders had agreed in 1943 that we must do: take and hold Berlin and surrounding territory until postwar peace treaties were made.

Who made the decisions to pull our armies back in Europe and let the Soviets take over? In *Crusade in Europe* (published in 1948), Eisenhower took credit for helping make the decisions. When he entered politics four years later, he denied responsibility, saying he had merely acted as a soldier, obeying orders.

Who made the decision to isolate Berlin 110 miles deep inside communist-controlled territory without any official mention of, or written agreements of any kind concerning, access routes by which the western powers could get into the city?

On July 2, 1961, *The New York Times* published the second of two articles by Arthur Krock, discussing the "incredible zoning agreements among the Allied conquerors of Nazi Germany" that placed "Berlin 110 miles within the Soviet zone and reserved no guaranteed access routes to the city from the British and American zones by road, rail, water, or airways."

Mr. Krock concluded, as must anyone who studies the record, that Joseph Stalin and international communism were the sole benefactors of the zoning agreements. Mr. Krock said he could find no explanation for the obvious fact that the United States government "became a party to the witless travesty on statecraft and military competence" reflected in the agreements on postwar Germany.

After saying as much, Mr. Krock then gave the explanation, which he himself apparently did not understand. He found the explanation in an article by Dr. Philip E. Mosely, then Director of Studies of the Council on Foreign Relations. The article was published in *Foreign Affairs*, quarterly magazine of the CFR. Here in essence is the story:

The agreements for the postwar division of Germany were worked out by the European Advisory Commission, composed of representatives of the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain. The U.S. Representative was John G. Winant, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain during World War II. Winant's political adviser was George F. Kennan, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, who for years has been touted as America's leading expert on Soviet affairs.

Winant did not cavil at the idea of leaving Berlin isolated 110 miles inside communist-held territory; but he did feel that there should be guaranteed access routes for the western powers to get to the city. Kennan told Winant that it would offend the Soviets if we insisted on specified and guaranteed access routes, because they would think we did not trust them. Moreover, Kennan argued, the very fact that we agreed on four-power occupation of Berlin was tacit agreement that all powers had undeniable right of access to the city.

Winant apparently was influenced by Kennan, but not entirely sold. He drew a map, depicting his ideas for the division of Germany, placing Berlin 110 miles inside the Soviet zone. Following Kennan's advice, he did not recommend that the western powers insist on guaranteed access corridors to the city; but he did sketch in corridors that he thought should be established.

Because of bureaucratic rivalry, or inefficiency, in Washington, Winant never received authorization to submit his proposal to the European Advisory Commission. Therefore, the British representative on the Commission made a proposal: setting Berlin deep inside the Soviet zone, and giving the Soviets 33 per cent of all productive resources of Germany, but keeping for England the greatest industrial areas.

Roosevelt and his military advisers rejected the British proposal. During the Second Quebec Conference (1944), Roosevelt sketched out on a small-scale map *his* idea of occupation zones in Germany. Roosevelt's map reduced the Soviet zone to 22 percent of pre-war Germany, and divided Germany into three zones — British,

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American, and Soviet, all three zones meeting in Berlin. Negotiations were then deadlocked, because the British and Soviets did not like Roosevelt's suggestion.

George F. Kennan broke the deadlock by going directly to Roosevelt and persuading him to give up his plan, in favor of the fantastic arrangements which the Soviets wanted: Berlin buried inside the communist zone with no access routes for the western powers agreed upon, or even mentioned.

In 1948-1949, the Soviets (to draw attention away from Asia where communists were taking over China) blockaded all roads, railways, and canals leading from the western zones of Germany into Berlin.

Harry Truman has been much praised for breaking that blockade with a fantastically expensive airlift; but the airlift was basically wrong. That was the time for us to decide whether to stay in or get out of Berlin. If our decision was to stay in (as, *at that time*, it should have been), we should have established a fully-adequate *land corridor* to Berlin by the use of military force, if necessary.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any well-informed person (and could not have been any real doubt in 1948) that the Soviets would have given way without armed resistance, because we had both right and might on our side. Our prestige and strength were so infinitely superior in 1948 that the Soviets could have done nothing but agree to whatever reasonable land corridors we demanded.

After the Soviet blockade of Berlin had achieved the communist purpose — of drawing attention away from Asia; of making further heavy drains on the economic resources of America; and of showing the world that the U.S. government was afraid of a head-on clash with the Soviets even when the whole world knew that America was in the right — the Kremlin lifted the Berlin blockade. The great internationalist propaganda machine in the United States proclaimed our "magnificent victory."

In June, 1949, the United States, the U.S.S.R., England, and France formally reaffirmed the old agreement about a four-power occupation of Berlin, but again avoided saying anything about access routes for the West to get to Berlin — an action, on our part, which now seems as incredible as the original Kennan-CFR decision to set the city up as a breeder of war and tensions.

For ten years after the Berlin airlift, the Western powers sat, waiting for the Soviets to make the next move. Khrushchev made it in 1958.

On November 27, 1958, the Kremlin delivered to our ambassador in Moscow a "note" announcing Soviet aims with regard to Berlin. The note filled approximately ten full columns in *The New York Times*. Nine and one-half columns contained nothing but Soviet lies and propaganda. About 5% of the text was devoted to an announcement of the Kremlin's plan for Berlin.

The plan was that *West Berlin* be declared a separate political entity (a "free city") and disarmed, except for a minimum police force, which would be used primarily to suppress anti-communist activity. All foreign troops would be withdrawn — which meant British, French, and American, but not Soviet, since Soviet troops are not stationed in West Berlin. The government of the "free city" of Berlin would be under the general supervision of the United Nations; but the communist government of East Germany would control all trade and traffic and means of entry into the city. The Kremlin note said:

"If this proposal is not acceptable to the United States Government, there is no topic left for talks on the Berlin question."

Every subsequent Kremlin statement concerning Berlin reaffirms this basic, inflexible plan.

On June 14, 1961, the Kennedy administration (through Mike Mansfield, Democrat leader in the Senate) suggested a Berlin plan—which, in effect, accepted the Kremlin plan but incorporated East Berlin as part of the proposed "free city."[2] American public opinion was hostile to the Mansfield suggestion, and it was dropped. But President

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Kennedy skillfully used the "Berlin crisis" of 1961 "as a lever" to force congressional approval of a long-range foreign-aid bill and other measures claimed to be necessary for resisting international communism.[3]

What is President Nixon likely to do, if anything, about Berlin?

When one realizes that the Berlin situation was created by a member of the Council on Foreign Relations (which has been virtually the invisible government of the United States since the outset of World War II[4]), it is not comforting to know that President Nixon's most important appointed adviser (Henry Alfred Kissinger) is a CFR member, as was the President himself a few years ago.

What should the U.S. do?

We no longer have any business defending or promising to defend any part of Europe against anyone. Defending Berlin is a job for Germans, not Americans. Germans are an able, industrious people — more soundly prosperous, in some ways, than we are. Surely, a nation which, in two world wars, fought the mighty combination of allied powers as Germany fought, can now defend itself.

With or without the consent of any of our World War II allies, we should negotiate a peace treaty with the government of West Germany, recognizing it as the lawful government of all Germany, and imposing no restrictions on German sovereignty — leaving the nation unhindered to rearm for its own defense as it pleases.

We should repudiate the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, give the Germans a reasonable time to prepare their own defenses, and then withdraw our military aid and presence from all of Germany, exerting whatever diplomatic pressures available to persuade France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to do likewise. What the Germans decide to do, or can do, about the division of their land and their capital city is not our business, as long as they commit no aggression against us.

Our own diplomatic and military resources should be devoted to the defense of our own country.

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FOOTNOTES

(1) *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers: The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran; 1943*, U.S. State Department, 1961

(2) "A Third Way On Berlin," speech by U.S. Sen. Mike Mansfield (Mont. Dem.), *Congressional Record*, daily, June 14, 1961, pp. 9598-9604

(3) "Berlin Propels Foreign Aid Through Committee in House," article by Robert E. Baskin, *The Dallas Morning News*, Aug. 2, 1961, Sec. 1, p. 1

(4) For history of the Council on Foreign Relations' manipulation of American policy, see *The Invisible Government*, by Dan Smoot (1962), available from The Dan Smoot Report, Inc., P. O. Box 9538, Dallas, Texas 75214; $1.00 pocketbook, $4.00 for clothback edition.

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